1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

because it is due to him, but because it is a gesture of polite generosity to one who is living in their village.

In the past the land owned by members of the clan had no utilitarian function. It was merely land with which one had close totemic connections and where one's *gas* or double dwelt. It was never planted on or built upon because the native was afraid of the *tsinanis* animals and *gas*. But with the coming of the white man and his coconut plantations this custom has been changed. The native saw the white man plant on the *tsinanis* land and saw also that nothing disastrous happened; so he lost his fear and now plants on it, although he retains his belief in the *gas* and *tsinanis* animals. Sometimes this clan land is too far away from its owners for them to plant it, so people of other clans, who may live close to it, will make their gardens there. If they have a large crop, these people will usually give a portion of it to the real owners, and should the land be sold to the white man, those who have gardens on it are entitled to a share of the payment. But they are not considered the real owners, for while they may have their gardens on the land, they may not bequeath it at their death. The land automatically is bequeathed to the clan descendants of the members who own the land. The ownership of this clan land never passes out of the hands of those members who have totemic and clan association with it.

However, there are ways of circumventing temporarily this traditional rule, and one example of such circumvention came to my notice. A man named Noas, who belonged to the *Tsililia* clan, at the time of his father's death made a payment for his father's clan land (on which he wanted to plant) to the members of his father's clan, which was *Sinpop*, and to which the land would naturally have belonged. At Noas' death the land will go back to the *Sinpop* clan, the members of which will make a return payment to the members of Noas' clan. This is the only case I found in which one individual, rather than a group, was considered an owner,

1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

himself, stands up and says a spell with the *tsil* leaf in his hand. The spell contains the same idea that he must rid himself of the bad effect of having eaten with pregnant women, and his washing is a rite to attain this end.

Now he gets back into the canoe and paddles on. Again he tries to catch the shark with the dead fish as a bait, and this time he succeeds. The shark comes through the loop, which the man pulls tightly, then he knocks the fish on the head with the *gula*, or thick stick. The shark is now dead. The man paddles back, and landing on the beach blows his conch shell to announce that he has returned with the shark. Later, it is wrapped in leaves and baked in the *liga*, and then there is a feast, as usual, in the cemetery. The shark is considered very choice food.[1]

COOKING

Cooking is an occupation of prime importance, and considered as such by the community. Although the men participate in several tasks connected with it, and although they prepare certain foods, it is essentially the women's work. It is usually done communally, and always so before ritual events, such as birth, initiation, marriage, death feasts, and the numerous minor ritual feasts. The group may range from ten to two hundred women, perhaps those of one or two hamlets, or all the women of several villages. Besides the communal cooking before ritual feasts, there is also the frequent communal cooking by the women of a hamlet, or sometimes two neighbouring ones. This is the normal way

[1] Shark-fishing is not being practised at present in the district where I lived. Farther up the coast shark-fishing expeditions are still being held, but I was unable to get there. The above account was given to me by the man who was known as the magician for shark-fishing and who had formerly led expeditions from Lesu. It was supplemented and checked with other accounts.

2: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-30)1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

775 the *tinuato* wanders around near the place of death and makes its presence known by a low whistle. Although it has no malignant qualities, it is regarded with great fear.

There is no belief in life after death (except for the ghost), in rewards or punishments, or in any deity. It is interesting to observe that for the missionised native it is the *tinuato* which goes to hell, and it is this also which has become the Christian soul.

266 727 These people, until very recently, were cannibals. All the adults of the community in which I lived had been cannibals before the white government stopped the practice. But it was only the bodies of enemies killed in warfare which were eaten, and never the body of a friend, relative, or member of the same village. As far as could be ascertained, there was no theory of imbibing the strength of the enemy warrior. It was merely another meat dish in a diet which was mostly vegetable.[4]

764 178 Cremation rather than burial was formerly practised, but as far as could be learned there has been no change in the rites. In the past the body was burned and the bones buried. The cemeteries existed then just as they do to-day—each hamlet with its own. In the rites to-day cremation is simply omitted and the whole body is buried instead of just the bones, as in the past.[5]

The following description, covering the three chronological periods, brings out the divisions among the survivors who are grouped according to their kinship to the dead person, their degree of mourning and their responsibility for the rites.

PREPARATIONS BEFORE DEATH

763 593 In the period immediately preceding death there is even then a selection of certain relatives who will perform special duties towards the dying person. It is always the parents or children who take care of the sick person. Before death occurs, it is to the house of the parents or children that the patient is moved. The spouse is very attentive also, and the rest of the community show their interest by cooking in the hamlet of the sick person and by dis-

[4] However, one can never completely trust information gathered from hearsay only, and with no opportunity to observe the phenomenon itself.

[5] White control is responsible for the change.